EQUAL RIGHTS

"MEN AND WOMEN SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS THROUGHOUT THE UNITED STATES AND EVERY PLACE SUBJECT TO ITS JURISDICTION"

Amendment to the United States Constitution now before Congress

Convention News

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EQUAL RIGHTS WINS IN THE AMERICAN FORUM

★

On the November thirtieth American Forum question: "Shall we adopt the Women's Equal Rights amendment?" debated by the National Woman's Party Chairman, for, and Representative Mary T. Norton, of New Jersey, against, 86 per cent of the voters agreed with Mrs. Wiley and 14 per cent with Representative Norton.

Pearl Buck's Speech

NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Washington, D. C.

Vol. 26, No. 8 December, 1940 Price Five Cents

Equal Rights

Official Organ
of the
NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY
Capitol Hill Washington, D. C.
Phone Atlantic 1210

Published Monthly at
144 B Street, N. E., Washington, D. C.

Entered as second-class matter at the post-office at Washington, D. C., under the Act of March 3, 1879.

Subscription, $1.00 a Year
Foreign Subscription, $1.50

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The World Woman's Party

By AMY C. RANSOME, *Treasurer*

The World Woman's Party officers now in Europe were expected to meet in Geneva during the first week in December, called by the Chairman, Alice Paul of the United States. The Vice-Chairman, Marie Lenoël of Paris expected to attend after seeking permission to enter Switzerland through the good offices of the German Consul.

A recent letter from the Hon. Secretary reports that the work has progressed very successfully. She wrote: "We have been able to constitute a European group of some of the most outstanding women of Europe and hope to do the same work in Asia, as well as in Africa and South America, in order to have a working group in every continent." There are now 127 members in Geneva and seven members of the "Committee of 1000," or "Maintenance Committee."

In their anniversary "Call," October 1st, they declared, "We are determined that women shall have power and responsibility equal with that of men; that when war is over, women shall be in a position to say, 'No new world without the advice of women; not the smallest and not the greatest decision without the voice of women.'"

The Treasurer of the World Woman's Party reports that she has succeeded in depositing gifts of $1138 since March, 1940. These gifts were made with the understanding that the Villa Bartholoni would be a center of hospitality for the many women refugees, distinguished for their work for women, now living at the Headquarters, as well as a center for constructive work for women. There is now pending a greater World Union of Women for Equal Rights, in which the major groups are Equal Rights International and the World Woman's Party.

Spiritually Right

By PERLE S. MESTA

We are going through testing and trying times in the world and the strife is for the survival of the fittest, not the physically fittest, but the fittest ideas, the most worthy, the most powerful, the right ideas. The dictator nations are today waging a war against equality, equality of nations, equality of races, equality of men. The survival of the fittest government depends upon the strength of the ideas which control it. We believe the Democracy, the instrument of equality among men, is the fittest government.

The National Woman's Party is today continuing with mounting confidence and assurance, its struggle dedicated to the principle of equality among all men under Democracy. But to us all men means all men and women. We have made notable progress in recent years and in recent months. That progress cannot be halted. Today we press on from a new front-line of achievement.

Equality among men and women is a spiritually right idea, and the amendment which our Party advocates is a sound human expression of that right idea, and a right idea can never be a partisan idea. It rises above partisanship as truth rises above partisanship, and for that reason our party will do well to continue its non-partisan position and to utilize non-partisan methods. Both of our great National Parties have contributed and are contributing to the promotion of the principles for which we stand. We need to increase that contribution from both parties. One party put our amendment into its national platform. It did not win this election, but its commitment stands. We have no reason to doubt that the Republicans in Congress will faithfully and honorably fulfill that commitment. One of the most heartening things to me was to see a fair and brilliant woman in the Democratic Party, Emma Guffey Miller, bringing to us the message that her party also believes in equality. And many individual Democrats and groups of Democrats have also led the way for their party.

Our objective is not merely an equal rights amendment, that is only a means to the end—our objective is equal rights. At a time when this principle is under attack throughout the world, let us practice and preach equal rights. Let us live and love equal rights.

High Lights of the Acceptance Speech of the Chairman

The National Woman's Party does not believe in the futility of compromise and therefore we believe in the principle of equality between men and women. We do not believe in protective legislation for women *only*, for the sake of expediency. We believe that all freedom is a precious thing, including the freedom to contract for one's labor.

Our forefathers fought and died for the thing for which we are now working.

Let us open our eyes to the vision that was seen by the pioneers. Let us help make that vision a reality and let us remember that the strongest force in the world is the force of a great idea. It is stronger than armies and mightier than any material thing.

ANNA KELTON WILEY.

LOST AT COVENTION—One Silver Mosaic Ring. Will finder please return to Dora G. Ogle, N. W. P. Hdqts., Washington, D. C.?

Convention, 1940

"WHAT I like about the Woman's Party," said one new member, "is that you all seem to love each other." Older members know that the love is so intense that it explodes like family love sometimes, but it is there. There are letters in the files addressed: "Dear Woman's Party," and signed: "Lovingly yours," by members who had gone away and had not kept track of the personnel. We are a heterogeneous group in many respects, political, religious, social, and economic, but we can't remember which are which when we are holding a convention.

In 1940, nearly all our best minds attended the convention, or so it seems until we think of some of the wonderful people who couldn't come. Every report and every little speech had some nugget of truth or inspiration to make us more effective workers for the Cause. There was some consternation when nominations for the Council were made from the floor, necessitating the election of 20 from a list of 23. It turned out to be a very valuable incident. While we were waiting for the complicated tally, we had a chance to hear from many members who hadn't been on the program, but who had something vital to say.

Some gave us good news such as both parties going on record for equal rights in Delaware, numerous Congressmen approving of the amendment for the first time, and defeat of most of the attempts to limit the economic opportunities of women. Bad news was the number of such bills that had been introduced and the threat of still more. Mary Murray told us that a bill to exempt bindery women from the night work laws in New York had passed both Houses of the Legislature and had then been vetoed by Governor Lehman. We were shocked to hear of the many places where "married women are in disrepute" as Serena Davis put it. We learned with sorrow of the death of Mrs. J. William Funck of Baltimore, but were happy to know that she had remembered the Woman's Party in her will, leaving a substantial bequest to the Maryland Branch.

Other speakers made constructive suggestions for our future activities. Our publicity director, Bab Lincoln, said everyone should begin thinking of the amendment as something which can be achieved *now*—not sometime in the distant future, but—NOW. She said "Lethargy won't do it. Wishful thinking won't do it. The right publicity *will*." Mildred Taylor read a thrilling prospectus for arousing the public through the production of feminist plays, movies, radio programs, and art exhibits with the cooperation of leading artists, as a project of the finance committee.

Anita Pollitzer told of her first day as a lobbyist. As she arrived from Charleston, almost a child, Alice Paul said to her: "Have you had your lunch? I hope you have. I want you to go over to the Capitol and not come back until you have seen every member of the committee and told him that the women of South Carolina are clamoring for the amendment."

Caroline Babcock proposed a plan for each State to select a week during the next Congressional Session to send delegates, letters, and telegrams to its Congressmen and win their support. Caroline said that our success at the Party Conventions would have been impossible if every member of the Party throughout the country had not been on her toes, sending messages to the right men at the right minutes.

As usually happens at conventions, we had a few women appear almost spontaneously from thin air, who were hearing of the Woman's Party for the first time and feeling an instant urge to help. Dr. Jeannette Marks of Mounty Holyoke told a little story in this connection. It was about an office boy who wanted a day off. His boss said, "Is it your grandmother?" He said, "Yes, she is making her first parachute jump."

We learned slogans and catch phrases from some of the speakers, too. The Pennsylvania slogan is "Women have a definite place in the world and a right to choose where that place shall be." Chicago's slogan is "Every member pledge a member." The convention showed that American women are aroused to the danger they are in and the necessity of acting definitely and quickly, but conscious that they can achieve equality if the effort is made.

The New Council

The following officers and National Council members were elected at the meeting of the convention on Sunday afternoon, December 8th: Chairman, Mrs. Harvey W. Wiley; First Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Jane Norman Smith; Second Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Amy C. Ransome; Third Vice-Chairman, Mrs. Margaret C. Williams; Treasurer, Miss Laura Berrien; Secretary, Mrs. Rebekah S. Greathouse; Council members, Mrs. Robert Adamson, Mrs. Nina Allender, Mrs. Edwina Austin Avery, Mme. Jacques Balsan, Mrs. Helen Bittermann, Mrs. Lois Buenzli, Mrs. Rosa Cunningham, Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, Mrs. Inez Haynes Irwin, Mrs. Elizabeth T. Kent, Miss Alma Lutz, Mrs. Burnita Shelton Matthews, Mrs. George Mesta, Mrs. Dora G. Ogle, Mrs. Alice Paul, Mrs. Anita Pollitzer, Mrs. Marguerite Smith, Miss Doris Stevens, Mrs. Helen Hunt West and Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe.

At the meeting of the National Council held the same evening the following members of the Council were elected to be on the Executive Council: Mrs. Allender, Mrs. Buenzli, Mrs. Hilles, Miss Lutz, Mrs. Matthews, Mrs. Mesta, Mrs. Ethel Ernest Murrell, Florida State Chairman, Miss Pollitzer, and Dr. Margaret Sebree, Chairman of the Government Workers' Council.

Invitation

The National Woman's Party received a most cordial invitation by cable, letter, personal messenger, and gifts to hold its 1942 Convention in Puerto Rico. The messages were so cordial, the messenger, Mrs. Alice Williams, so friendly, and the gifts so charming that all delegates hope that the invitation can be accepted, or that we shall receive an invitation to go even sooner and hold our 1941 Conference there.

Luis Munoz-Marin, husband of our Muna Lee, has been elected President of the Puerto Rico Senate. Puerto Rico is beautiful and its people hospitable, so the convention voted to ask the Council to arrange to have the next conference in Puerto Rico if they can possibly do so.

The Bent Twig

Mrs. Ransome tells us a story about ustina Hill, professor at Johns Hopkins who has just published a book entitled "Germs and the Man."

On a certain occasion when Justina was quite a small child, her mother told her to make no noise in the hall as her father was entertaining some college friends. Justina said: "Oh! Do men go to college?"

September, 1939

By ELLEN SHIPMAN

Magna Charta, we pray you call—
Speak to us again—tell all
The battle that you fought,
Inspire the youth
With your great truth!
Freedom!
We need your voice again,
We need the spirit of your men,
For time has come when
Men battle to kill
What you have gained
For them.

This is not war for country.
It is the life or death
Of what you gave to all
Who have come after. Call!—
Call to all who know or love
The Freedom you have given men!
Tell them of the darkness whence you came!
Remind them of the glory
You have given the world!
Tell them once again
Your great story!
Let not your benediction pass away
Without a clarion note from you to say
That all free men should
Answer to your call.
Call! Oh, Magna Charta!
Call for Freedom!

Banquet

The 1940 Convention Banquet was a "moral indignation meeting" to use the words of Nina Allender. All the speakers conveyed the impression that women must obtain their rights not for economic reasons alone but for the sake of justice and morality.

Mrs. Wiley, presiding, read greetings from Alice Paul and the other officers of the World Woman's Party, from Mrs. Charles McNary, from Representative A. S. Guyer, from Ida S. Broo, President of the Society of Women Accountants.

Ethel Ernest Murrell, our eloquent Florida Chairman, was the first speaker. Her subject was "The Equal Rights Amendment and the New Generation." She had only five minutes but sounded the key note which was later elaborated by the other speakers. She said, "Woman must cleanse herself spiritually of the slave conception of herself, and on behalf of humanity she must insist upon equality."

Emma Guffey Miller spoke particularly of the Equal Rights Amendment, how fair it is and how necessary it is that we should have it in the Constitution. She said that if everybody would think things through, it would be there.

Anita Pollitzer was given the hardest task, as has so often happened. She was the one who asked for funds for our work. She outlined a budget of $10,000 that we really need over and above the amount spent last year if we are to do the things that our members want us to do. She pointed out that the money must come as extra gifts if our plans are to be carried out. Some of the money was immediately promised from the floor of the banquet hall. Mary Pickford was one who telegraphed her greetings and pledged $100. Still more money was pledged the next day at the business session.

Pearl Buck was the last speaker and made a thoughtful and inspiring address on woman's place in democracy. She made it clear that she goes all the way with the National Woman's Party in its aims.

Unveiling Of Portrait

On the first night of the convention a portrait of Maud Younger was unveiled at Alva Belmont House, with tributes from nine members of the Party, who described Maud's life and spirit so vividly that she seemed to be among us again.

Laura Berrien talked particularly of the joyfulness Maud had in her work for the National Woman's Party and how others caught the contagion of it so that we can never really lose her. Josephine Casey told of Maud as a young girl seeking work as a waitress in order to find out how working girls were treated, and how she asked the old, old question at Child's Restaurant as to how she could get necessary experience unless someone gave her a job. Mary Murray said that wage-earning women had lost a good, dear, sincere friend in the passing of Maud Younger. Telegrams to the same effect were received from Frankie Behan, Secretary of the Waitresses' Union, and from the San Francisco Labor Council. Jane Norman Smith read a quotation which seemed particularly suitable: "The true joy of life is to be used for a purpose, recognized by yourself as mighty." Burnita Shelton Matthews said our tribute should be persuasion of the younger generation of women to stand shoulder to shoulder until no discriminations against their sex remain and women are free from artificial handicaps, free to meet their destiny.

Inez Haynes Irwin was the principal speaker. She described the beautiful friendship between Maud and herself and the varied experiences they had shared. She said that Maud's outstanding characteristics were absolute integrity, complete fearlessness, an inflexible will and gentleness. She ended her speech with these words: "And now how do I picture her—in armor—fighting, still an Amazon. I like to think of her with her helmet off, her shield and spear beside her resting, her eyes set on that far star on the horizon—that star of justice and equality which always seems fixed, but whose light always reveals new injustices and new inequality. I like to think of her thus resting between battles in that great crusade which will engage her flaming soul through all eternity!"

Enclosed please find $1.00 for which please enter the following subscription for Equal Rights for one year.

Name .....

Address .....

.....

.....

Women's Place In A Democracy

Partial Text of Pearl Buck's Speech

DEMOCRACY is that way of life among people wherein individuals are given the greatest possible liberty consistent with equal liberty for all others and where the individual is allowed and encouraged to develop to the highest and fullest possible point consistent with the development of all others.

We are the children of men and women who loved democracy. Their blood is in our veins. We do not have to fight against our traditions as other peoples have had to struggle against theirs when we choose democracy, for we were founded on democracy, and our traditions are the traditions of liberty and of hatred of tyranny. And yet even we have not yet achieved a democracy. Within our borders there still exist today grave inequalities. We tolerate them, we condone them, we willingly overlook them, unwilling to compare what we do to what should be done if we are to be a true democracy.

What is the place of woman in a democracy? I shall make myself specific geographically, since America is now most clearly the country whose people have chosen the road toward democracy, and since we are American women. What is our place in our democracy?

The place of women in the United States now is a very peculiar one as I see it. My interest in my own sex, I must confess, is a recent one. I was never particularly interested in women apart until I returned to my own country to live, and that was only a very few years ago. I don't mean in any way to say that I wasn't interested in women before. But I thought of them as a part of the whole, as men were, or children, and my interest was and is primarily in the whole. This is perhaps because in China, where I used to live, women are a part of the whole. They take and have always taken an extremely active role in practical life. It is not meaningless that in old China some of the most powerful rulers were women, or that Chinese history bristles not with one Joan of Arc but with many, or that today we know the three Soong sisters better than we do any three Chinese men, even their husbands. And these Chinese women, old and new, are not unique. They stand for millions of others. Thanks to an unprivileged existence, unshadowed by chivalry, Chinese women long ago developed sturdiness of character, independence of judgment, and even a certain ruthlessness.

So I came to my own country expecting to find the fruits of complete freedom, in equality and harmony between men and women, and unity in citizenship. Several things impressed themselves upon me at once. First, it seemed to me almost immediately that American men and women, generally speaking, always, do not much enjoy each other. Their real companionship is too often not even genuinely in each other. Men, generally, it seems to me do not like women generally. Women generally feel this and are bewildered by it. How can I express my surprise in finding that the free woman in my own country feels inferior to men, and that she finds it difficult to take herself for granted as a human being? She is always conscious of herself as a woman, either from the point of view of sex, or as one not equal to man in intellect, capabilities, or achievement. Sometimes in compensation for actual feelings of inferiority, she conceives of herself as man's spiritual superior and thereby becomes that most nauseating human mixture to be found on the globe, the moral uplifter. Few American women, it seemed to me, simply rejoice in being what they are, and because they cannot rejoice they tend to be fretful and jealous of each other. Being self-doubtful, they achieve far less than they should. And the root of all this self-doubt which has become a part of their very natures, is to be found in their uncertainty as human beings and this uncertainty springs from their unsatisfactory relationship to men.

Nor are men free from the effects of this condition. In their deepest being you will find many American men are seriously troubled about their relationship to women, both individually and nationally, and the more intelligent and thoughtful they are, the more troubled they are, though they are seldom willing to express it. As too many women now are, almost every man has at least one woman who burdens him—a childish demanding mother, clamorous for affection and attention and time when he has so little time. Even when she is unselfish and consciously determines not to trouble her children and lives alone, nevertheless she has forged the early bonds of emotional feeling so immensely strong that though she asks for nothing in words her children feel her lonely and her days long, now that they are grown up. Unwisely she has made them her work, so that when they leave her, they know, if they are sensitive, that her work is done. Nothing but her own ability to fill her life with work of her own can make them free.

Or the man has a wife to support. He wants to support her because men are bound by tradition and traditionally the successful American man supports his wife and regardless of her own need for work it hurts his vanity to have people think she has to work.

Or it may be the burden upon the boy and only upon the man subconsciously of the ill-balanced unmarried women school teachers who taught him through his childhood and adolescence, who put the hatred of women into him forever. Oh, the folly of not insisting that our children be taught by married people, by people who are emotionally secure and free in heart and mind for their important work! Or it may be it is merely the daily spectacle of idle privileged womanhood which is man's burden, women claiming the right to seats in the bus, to the first place at ticket windows, to the most comfortable chairs in living rooms. Whatever the causes, and if women are honest they must admit there are plenty of them, American men do not greatly like women and the instinctive and unconscious and unwilling awareness of this dislike has had and has disastrous effects upon American women. It has compelled her whether she knows it or not to a shrinking inferiority or to a flouting egoistic compensatory assertiveness, both of which are equally unfortunate for everybody.

The respect which American men give to women today is too often unwilling, too often tinged with fear. They are afraid to give up the tradition which has kept women segregated from men. And women should give particular heed to this fact, for this fear is what has made fascism compel women to the home again and has removed her from all possible places of competition

with men. It is not meaningless that within recent months there should have been made public here in our own country fresh expressions by men in such places as the syndicated columns of newspapers, in important and opinion-forming magazines and in best-selling books against freedom for women. It does not mean necessarily a change in American opinion, but it does mean a change in the atmosphere that now makes certain reactionary men feel free to express their feelings toward women even though we are a democracy. Fascism is traditional in its attitude toward women, and if we are to fight fascism, it is this tradition now that we must fight first, the tradition which keeps men and women separate, with a separate work to do. Such separation is illogical in a democracy, where individual fitness is the only criterion of fitness for any work. All of science has not been able to give us proof of any difference in ability based on sex, beyond the one fact that only men can beget and only women can conceive and give birth. Beyond that, so far as we know, there is no sex difference in abilities.

The fundamental weakness in our American democracy begins in our homes and is created by American women, unaware, most of them of course, of what they are doing. They are not rigorous enough upon their children in demanding of them that whether male or female they should fulfill the requirements which make a real human being, equally responsible toward each other and toward work and individual fruitfulness.

Few have been the young American women I have found who want real work of their own as well as marriage. And the casual and even irresponsible attitude of the American man toward marriage is as wrong as the American woman's absorption in it. This very difference in their attitude to their marriage carries them to further separation. What is woman's goal is not man's, and yet how can marriage be successful to woman unless man is equally interested in it? And the work of the world, the nation, the community, suffers and lags, because woman has no great stake in it. It is called man's work. The proper education for democracy should produce young men and women equally eager for marriage and for work and the development to be found in both. Nor do I believe for one moment that this is unnatural or impossible. On the contrary, I am sure that men and women will not be happy together until equally as individuals they hope for marriage and for work.

I cannot conscientiously ascribe the eagerness that most girls now feel toward marriage primarily to romance or idealism or maternal instinct or any such fine causes. While of course they do crave romance and babies, still by and large the chief reason for the rush of women toward marriage is economic security. In these too insecure times young women are frighteningly eager to get their men. I pity men, I do indeed. Even the poorest and least attractive man today must feel himself in the position usually ascribed to those who inherit fortunes and must therefore always doubt the quality of those who love them and their own loveableness.

When one considers that from eighteen to twenty-five women give their chief thought to securing husbands and from twenty-five to forty in having children and staying at home, what is left, either for them as individuals or for the society in which they live? All wishes and best sellers aside, the truth is that life does not begin at forty. During the years before forty the world has gone on, and it is too late for the woman of forty to enter it on anything like equal terms with the man. At the height of her maturity, her biological duty fulfilled, she remains useless, a bystander, at most a dabbler and a dilettante for the rest of her life.

And I see little reason for the average woman to excuse herself for this by talk of her place being the home. If she is in the home she is there alone. Our industrial civilization removes her husband early in the morning and returns him late at night, and public schools take her children after they are six years old for most of the hours of the day, and in the home machinery does at least half the work she used to do. However much she denies it, the average woman, average in ability and income, is not fully occupied in her home. She is not now useful as she once was when her husband's workshop was at home. And the knowledge of this, whether she is aware of it or not, whether she will acknowledge it or not, contributes to her sense of inferiority. Women are not as important to the nation today as they were when they performed the work now done by our increasingly industrial civilization. Nor can they hope to compensate for this by the moral and spiritual atmosphere they may try to create in the few hours when their men and children are at home with them. They cannot maintain this atmosphere in themselves if they are not involved in the actual work of life. Superior moral and spiritual attitudes do not spring out of actual and subconscious inferiority.

Men have clearly demonstrated that they have gone as far as they can without women. I do not for one moment mean to insinuate any silly notion that women are better or more capable than men or that without men they could have made any better job of the world than men have made without women. What I do say is that without women, men have made a world in which science is over-developed in comparison to human relations, in which force is admired rather than wise and humane controls, and that man has done as much as he can alone is evident in the constant repetitions that we have of the same sort of booms, depressions and wars. It is not meaningless that out of countries where women are openly subjugated have come the dictators. Obviously it is time for some sort of new influence to come in. And this influence I believe is that of woman, who ought to have been there all the time. Men and women, alike in so much, equal in ability, if not identical, are fundamentally different in their attitudes toward life. To woman life is an achievement in itself, an end to be conserved. She alone knows the cost of producing life and of conserving it with care. When it is destroyed through bad economic conditions or through wars, her work is destroyed, her biological being negated. Her strongest instincts are toward the preservation of life and the bettering of its conditions.

> I believe that the condition in which humanity finds itself today is due directly to lack of balance between the instincts of man and woman.

I believe that such a balance can be achieved only through democracy. I believe that democracy itself has not yet been achieved because we have not recognized the necessity for that balance. And lastly, I believe that the balance can come only when men and women are educated equally in marriage and in work, so that the same obligations fall upon men and women alike, obligations to the home, to the nation, to the world. Democracy, therefore, will actually result in a nation only when men and women together carry on

all the activities of its life, and the tradition of the separation of the sexes is completely done away with.

How shall this change be brought about in the world? In ways as various as the nations, but in the United States, by women first. Here women are free. We can do anything we will. If we retreat the retreat is ours. If tradition holds, it is because we hug it and uphold it and maintain it. I see no reason whatever except women's reluctance to take responsibility why our country should not proceed to be a real democracy. When women have come forward as efficient individuals, not men, but jealous and retreating women have been their chief opponents. The time has come for American women to give up this attitude of retreat and self-distrust and inferiority, whether it manifests itself in timidity or in over-aggressiveness, and to realize that we cannot have a democracy until women take their proper place in work and government.

Let women think now of the world first and their own communities last. This is no time to improve little towns and villages or even to organize cities for better living. Finer cities than we can reorganize, older and more beautiful towns than ours lie in ruins. We must think in world terms now. Women must step beyond four walls into the whole world and take their place there. Their smallest unit is the nation, for the world is still made up of nations. But nothing less than her proper place in national life is the present duty of woman in a democracy.

How can this come about? Only through the education of men and women for each other. Women must struggle against tradition for themselves. Those exceptional women who have already succeeded in breaking tradition must help the average woman who has not the special gifts to help her that the exceptional woman has, to find her place in national life. My experience of the exceptional woman in our country is that she is selfish in her success, preoccupied with holding it to its highest level, and careless and thoughtless of the welfare and development of the average woman, as in turn the average woman is jealous of the exceptional woman. This must change. Women must help women not to gain privileges but to take their share of work and responsibility so that the balance of life may result in peace and better times for all.

The handicaps of marriage for women must be steadily attacked and removed, and these handicaps are not only economic discrimination against married women, but the years now absorbed in mating and in rearing children. If the family is made the mutual responsibility of men and women, as it should be, the handicap will not fall only upon woman and will change, indeed, to advantage for man, woman, and child. But in the meantime women should see to it that even during the years of childbirth and rearing women are not allowed to withdraw from the active life of the world which needs their opinion, their judgment, their decisions. In short, by every possible means women should be forced to realize that they must enter into life. They must be forced to realize that it is not enough to create, as blindly as beasts do, simply more life. The environment of their children today is not primarily the home. It is far more truly the world. And with the world women have had very little to do. If they refuse to come out of their seclusion, their safety, their irresponsibility toward the policies which compel us to chaos and war, then there is no hope for the human race.

Unless women realize their responsibility, neither we nor any other nation will achieve true democracy, and as the machines of war grind on, the very ideal of democracy will one day perish from the earth.

Tribute To Harriot Stanton Blatch

By ALMA LUTZ

I WANT to pay tribute to the memory of Harriot Stanton Blatch, one of the most distinguished members of the National Woman's Party. Mrs. Blatch passed on a few weeks ago, after a long and active life of devoted service to women.

I did not know Mrs. Blatch, as many members did, during the years when she campaigned so brilliantly for woman suffrage. I first met her about eight years ago when I began to collect material for my biography of her mother. Then her more active days were over, but her keen mind was still pondering the ways and means for achieving a fuller, freer life for women. I never talked with her without being inspired to more and more effort for equal rights for women.

She understood so thoroughly the menace of special protective labor laws for women, and if she had been able to campaign on this issue as she did for woman suffrage, I am sure that women's economic freedom would not be so threatened today.

It was a great inspiration to me to go over her papers as I did when I was collaborating with her in writing her memoirs, CHALLENGING YEARS. This has given me an appreciation of her work and her greatness, and I feel I have a special trust in bringing her message to you.

Mrs. Blatch felt that women in the United States had had three great opportunities to win their freedom and failed to make use of them. First, after the Revolution when a new concept of government was being put into practice and when industrial expansion began to put them to work outside of the home. Second, after the Civil War when all but a few devoted workers for woman suffrage stepped aside so that male Negroes might have the vote before them. Third, after the first World War when women should have pressed their claims throughout the world and taken a more responsible place in government.

We are now in the midst of a fourth opportunity. The world situation has forced this opportunity upon us. There will be many suggestions and pleadings that we step aside and withhold our demands for equal rights until the world has been saved from the danger which threatens it. We must not listen. We must remain true to the ideals of the pioneers and make full use of our fourth opportunity.

I do not think I could better state Harriot Stanton Blatch's message to women of today than to quote the last lines of her book, Challenging Years:

> "I am convinced that women are facing a crisis today and must unite and take a definite stand to protect the rights they have won, and in saving these rights they will also save civilization. Women can save civilization only by the broadest cooperative action, by taking part in greater numbers in government, by daring to think, by daring to be themselves. The world is calling for women of vision and courage. May the women of the world hear the call and go forward!"

Mrs. Wiley received the following telegram during the convention:

"Congratulations to the Biennial Convention. The Board of American Medical Women's Association now in session at Halstead, Kansas, bridge the distance with our support and interest and are with you now and ever and 'We meant it.'"

A Feminist Thinks It Over

By ALMA LUTZ

Not long ago a well-known book reviewer made this statement, "Of all the dull causes, none is quite so dull as that of woman's rights." Why anyone should make such a statement, it is hard for us to understand, because to us the story of women's struggle for freedom is a thrilling one, full of courage, vision, and even humor. If women are not interested in their history and in the story of their progress, there is something seriously wrong with them. They will not be able to meet the problems of the present day without the inspiration of the great women of the past and without the knowledge of the obstacles their mothers and grandmothers surmounted.

In view of this we recommend a book recently written by a member of the Woman's Party, Dr. Maude Glasgow, "The Subjection of Women and the Traditions of Men." (McAuliffe, Booth, Inc., 166 East 124th Street, New York, $3.)

Women will find much of interest, much to make them think, in this very readable account of the status of women through the ages. They will see that women have a history to be proud of, that they did not always occupy a subordinate position in family and social life. They will learn how some of the traditions of the subjection of women were built up, and how they still linger on in the minds of both men and women as well as in the law. They will see how important it is for women to get rid of these traditions, not only for their own sake but for the future of civilization.

Dr. Glasgow points out the dangers to women in special protective legislation and in barring married women from paid employment. She urges them to regain their original self-respect and stand squarely against all discrimination.

"If it is a man's world," says Dr. Glasgow, "nature did not plan it so. She meant that the qualities of the male and female, different but equal in value, should supplement and complement, not supplant each other. It is from the feminine character that civilization proceeds, and as shown by scientists, the female leads in all those finer qualities which go to form the culture of races and nations. It is because those have been shut off that we are witnessing a return to primitive passions and primeval savagery."

Another Friend

Dr. A. G. Balch, President of the Board of Trustees of the California Institute of Technology, issued the following statement on October 17th, 1940.

> "I believe men and women should have Equal Rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction. By interpretation the Courts have ruled women out of the full protection of the Constitution and robbed them of their full legal rights as persons and citizens.
>
> "This injustice should be immediately corrected through the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.
>
> "In effect it will wipe out all of the old Common Law discriminations against women. It will prevent State legislatures from passing further legislative restrictions against women.
>
> "As a matter of simple democratic justice this principle of equality for all before the law should no longer be denied to women who constitute approximately half of the citizens of this country."

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Two Voices

One from the Afternoon of Life and the other from the Morning

I

From Dr. William Allen Wilbur, Professor Emeritus of English of George Washington University, successively Dean and Provost of the University. Dr. Wilbur served from 1894 to 1936 in the University impressing thousands of young lives with the idealism of his wonderful nature and faith in God. Verily the harvest of his life and teachings will make many see the truth. Unsolicited, the following came to the chairman in the mail the day after our convention:

Dec. 6, 1940.

Dear Mrs. Wiley:

I am in sympathy with the Woman's Equal Rights Amendment advocated by the National Woman's Party. My Convictions are as follows;

Democracy like Religion is an experience of consciousness. The Bill of Rights is experienced equally by Man and Woman. Individuality is equally complete in Man and Woman. Civic limitation on the exercise of these fundamental rights weakens Democracy.

Sincerely yours,

(Signed) WM. A. WILBUR.

II

In the same mail came a letter from Herbert Franklin Moore, a young student at Georgetown University, who on December 3d, took part in a debate on the proposed equal rights amendment, reading "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and in every place subject to its jurisdiction," at the Willard Hotel, over WOL arranged by Theodore Granik, called "The American Forum." Mr. Moore asked me to get literature. He argued on the affirmative side of the debate. In returning the literature, he stated:

Dec. 9, 1940.

My dear Mrs. Wiley:

Your literature has been of great assistance to me.

I hope that your cause will not be a lost one. For my own part I feel certain that it will not be.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

(Signed) HERBERT MOORE.

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